42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

867 means "to suffer erection", and is used only of boys and girls who
831 have not yet attained the age of puberty; another term is in use for adults.

867 And so we have reached the period between the age at which the
834 little one wears lower garments for the first time and that of puberty.
291 Formal teaching about the first elements of sex morality usually starts
858 about this time, and so little girls of this age are generally very
183 modest, although boys are not so meticulous. Provided they are circumcised, the latter do not mind very much exposing their naked body, and even when as yet uncircumcised, there is no comparison between their behavior and that of their modest little sisters. For the rest much freedom still exists, as my reference to the special term just explained seems to indicate, so that it might be called a miracle if the youngsters live a chaste life once they have attained the age
[835] of puberty. Recently a young man of some eighteen years old was arrested for having violated his little sister who is barely six years old; he said he wanted "to try".

836 Grown-up girls are of course much better in this respect than boys,
183 and both sexes usually observe the laws of modesty that have been taught them by their parents according to the Isneg code; but in general I think that the morals of young people are decidedly loose.
577 *Magdaldallów* (joking one another, boys and girls), *magkabbdl* (to
867 finger a girl's breasts; said only of boys), and similar terms, seem to indicate that the teaching of their elders is not very successful. Add to this that young men have free access at night to all houses where girls of marriageable age may be found, and it will not be wondered at that chastity is a rare flower among Isneg youth.

836 The fear of pregnancy and of its consequences is of course a great
183 deterrent to young people of both sexes, but, even leaving aside the question of self-pollution, simple fornication must not be so exceedingly rare after all. It is true that my informants usually assure
867 me that coitus is never practised among unengaged boys and girls of mature age; but this in my opinion cannot be accepted without a grain of salt. Indeed, the same men have also told me at first that continence is imposed upon engaged couples before their marriage, but I have learned since that the latter are free to sleep together as often as they wish even though none of the usual ceremonies has yet been performed,—and this I now know to be a universal custom all over Apayaw.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

Namaltugan); but this is certainly not an Isneg custom, and it would not even be true to say that polyandry is sporadic among the natives, as the above example is probably unique in Apayaw.

No Isneg is precluded from contracting marriage or regarded as incapable of the same, and so also there are no marriages that could be said to be enjoined by law or by custom to certain classes of people. The only marriage impediments that exist among the Isneg, besides lineal consanguinity, are collateral consanguinity in the first and in the second degree, and so marriage is forbidden between brothers and sisters, and between first cousins. Marriages between second cousins, although not prohibited, are comparatively rare; they seem to be shunned by the Isneg.

2. Courtship

And now we come to the description of how Isneg boys and girls enter the state of matrimony.

Whereas among the Kankanay and other tribes of the Mountain Province, the groom goes to work for a certain period of time in the house of the bride's parents, in Apayaw the Isneg boy merely buys his wife from her parents.

But first of all, who makes the choice? Are the children free and left to their own devices, or do the parents arrange the whole affair among themselves? Have the children anything to say in the matter, or have they merely to agree to their parents' wishes?

Infant marriages exist in Apayaw, but they are the exception. In such cases the parents arrange everything and perform all customary ceremonies that precede the actual marriage, while the bride and groom are still too young to know anything about the matter, and perhaps before they have ever seen each other. These marriages are never consummated and the final marriage ceremony never takes place before the regular age, which means usually not before the age of sixteen years for the boy and fourteen for the girl. But such marriages are as easily broken off as they are contracted; indeed, either of the two parties or both may have conscientious objections, because they have somebody else in sight or for some other reason, in which case the transactions never go any further. Whatever has been paid to the parents of the bride is returned to the original owners, and everything goes on as if nothing had happened. I know of one such case of infant marriage, or rather of agreement between the parents while bride and groom were still in their infancy: it was related to